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struggle against outside tyranny and of a somewhat blind but persistent striving after union and freedom, which resulted in the rise and development of the Confederacy and was followed by the hundred years (1400-1516) of the height of the power of Switzerland as a European state.

The Third Period, 1516 to 1798, covers the era of the Reformation, the religious wars which followed and the formation of aristocratic constitutions, ending with the intellectual regeneration and political ferments of the eighteenth century.

The Fourth Period is that of the new development in its varied phases, including an account of the consolidation of the Federal State and of the progress of the Republic under the Constitution of 1848.

Synoptical and chronological tables, an excellent index and table of contents help to make the work convenient for reference.

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Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union. By FRANK GREENE BATES, Ph. D., [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Vol. X, No. 2]. Pp. 220. New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

Dr. Bates' monograph makes a substantial addition to our knowledge of that public opinion in the various states to which the framers of the constitution had to make their final appeal. The contest in Rhode Island has a special interest because of her stubborn resistance to the "more perfect union." The author has done his work with thoroughness, using not merely printed material, but manuscript archives as well. The literary workmanship leaves something to be desired. Details are not always so ordered as to enforce sharply and clearly the main propositions which the author has sought to establish.

The introduction on the colonial era seems rather perfunctory and somewhat lacking in proportion. Whatever influence may have been exerted by the early boundary controversies, they need hardly have been reviewed in so much detail. On the other hand, a more comprehensive view of the colony as it was, say in 1765, would have increased the effectiveness of the author's treatment of the later years. One cannot avoid a certain skepticism in regard to the causal relation between the individualism illustrated in the founding and early history of the colony, and the course which it pursued after the War of Independence.

The aggressiveness and spirit of co-operation shown by Rhode Island in the events leading up to independence are well brought out.

When the articles of confederation were presented to the states for acceptance, Rhode Island, while urging amendments, showed a highly creditable spirit of accommodation. The turning point appeared when the effort was made to secure the grant of additional powers to Congress. The reasons for opposition to the impost were not, however, purely constitutional. It was feared that the exercise of the new power would injure the commercial interests of the state. In rejecting the impost in 1782, the vote of the assembly was unanimous. The state continued in its attitude of opposition when the revenue scheme of 1783 was presented, though the constitutional objections raised to the original impost had been partially met. Gradually, however, the conviction forced itself upon the merchants of Rhode Island that their interests demanded the granting of larger powers to Congress, and in 1786 the state was ready to grant all or nearly all that was then asked.

The mercantile interests had abandoned their particularistic attitude, but they could not maintain themselves against the superior numerical force of the country party. The specific issue between the two parties was that of paper money. Real distress, the difficulty of meeting private and public obligations, led the debtor classes to demand the issue of paper money. The conservative interests which controlled the assembly at the beginning of 1786 refused, but the next election showed their political weakness, and the radical party gained a control which lasted for several years. Then followed the series of excesses which culminated in the denial of trial by jury, and finally received a salutary check in the decision of the superior court in the case of *Frevett vs. Weeden*. Even after the gradual abandonment of the paper money program, the party responsible for that program retained political control. To a state controlled by these elements, the appeal was made, first to take part in the convention and then to ratify the constitution. The noteworthy thing here seems to be the essential similarity of the opposition in Rhode Island to that, for example, in Massachusetts. If the people of the central part of the latter state could have been set off by themselves, their action would undoubtedly have been similar to that of Rhode Island.

The amendments proposed by Rhode Island to the federal constitution seem to indicate no important difference in kind between the opposition here and that elsewhere. One receives the general impression that the final adhesion of Rhode Island to the constitution was due not so much to a change of principles, as to the not ungrounded fear of the consequences of further resistance. The passage in the federal senate of the bill for commercial non-intercourse with Rhode Island, indicated a spirit with which it was unwise to trifle. The

victory of the anti-federalists in the election of 1790 also seems to indicate that ratification was an act of necessity rather than of choice.

We certainly can not **exclude** altogether the influence of early particularistic traditions in determining the action of the state during this period, but the reader will probably conclude that the most significant elements in the opposition were those which Rhode Island shared with other states. With a leadership less efficient than that of Hamilton, the first federalist minority in New York might have been no better off than the constitutional party in Newport and Providence.

An appendix gives the text of the amendments proposed by Rhode Island to the federal constitution. The book seems of sufficient extent and importance to **make** the addition of an index desirable.

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